1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

are built. The central fire is laid in the bottom of the pit, a few feet above that is the platform where the guests are seated, and the ground-level is a few feet above that again. A few instances are remembered of houses having been built with two, and even three, of these tiers, or platforms. In those cases it appears certain that this type of construction was embodied in a myth derived from Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people, where, according to the Bella Coola, large houses, of five or six tiers, were not unknown. 342 424 556* [177]

X uses his own discretion in choosing his workmen,[1] avoiding only his own relatives and those of his wife. The question of pay is never broached, but it is understood that X will recompense those who have worked for him. The scale on which he does so will depend entirely on his generosity. This is one of the ways in which a chief helps the poor people of his village. More food is distributed to "sharpen the wedges." 335 556* 465●

While a man is engaged on his allotted task any food or other articles which he or his family may obtain belongs to X. If a man who hews the planks takes his wife with him and she chances to pick berries while he is at work, these must be given to X who will distribute them with his other food at the potlatch, and it will be announced from whom he has received them. If a man's friends should help him to complete his task and then all go hunting, any skins acquired will belong to X; but when he repays his indebtedness he is expected to reward the worker, not only for his carpentry, but also for the berries or pelts. As X must give lavishly to prove his chief-like generosity, the collection of foods or skins by his workmen is profitable for them.

The guests have been passing in and out of X's house all day and towards dusk all again assemble within. Suddenly the door is burst open by a number of young men carrying a large log, like a battering-ram. The majority of the bearers are *nusk*, though they may obtain assistance from those who are not members of the society. The people within the house spring up to eject the ram, and a sham battle ensues. Back- 556* [575]

[1] [ie. to build a new house for a potlatch. -ANALYST]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

which X has amassed. These have been collected in boxes near the fire where he, aided by members of his family, is constantly poring over the question of their proper distribution. One or two fluent chiefs have been chosen by X to act as speakers, and, as he tells them which gift is to be given to which man, the speaker holds up the article in question and announces the name of the recipient. It is also proclaimed from whom, and for what reason X has received each assortment of goods, thereby making known the names of those who have contributed. In this way a man is glorified who has repaid with large interest a debt owing to X. In the case of skins or rolls of cloth, the goods about to be given out are held outspread by several people at their full length, prior to being torn into strips. Each beneficiary accepts what is coming to him from the hands of the young men who act as deliverers without displaying either gratitude or disgust, whether or not the present comes up to his expectations. The point of view is that the matter concerns X alone; on his generosity depends his status in the community. 556*

The first gifts distributed are actually payments, though never referred to as such. The Bella Coola consider that X is under obligations to those who have helped him prepare for the potlatch and that he is discharging these obligations by presents. The carpenters who have made the new house, the totem-pole, and other objects used in the rites, must be rewarded, likewise the singers who have composed the songs, the messengers, the women wailers, the masked dancers, the announcers who even now are distributing the goods, the boys helping with the cooking, the guests who make speeches—one and all have to be compensated. It is an anxious time for X, as he must not overlook any of these functionaries. Paper and pencil are now used to assist the memory, but long ago the only aids were bundles of sticks. No system of symbolism was evolved, each man merely chose a stick and designated it in his mind as a reminder to pay such or such an individual. The 556* 465 [211]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

skill shown by those who assisted, as well as the generosity of X, regulates the disbursements.

The following presents of money were given at a potlatch held about 1890, and were considered reasonable.

For painting two designs[a] on the front outside wall of the house	$ 40.00
For the erection of four upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house	30.00
For each longitudinal beam with painting	20.00
For each cross-beam, without painting	10.00
For the planking of the side walls[b]	100.00
For painting the rear wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back-room[a]	40.00

An average totem-pole would cost perhaps $150, but the prices varied greatly with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

The next distribution is of goods to repay debts which X has incurred at previous potlatches, that is, to return "investment presents" then received (I, p. 232). This is known as *lisdjut*, "repay," and the word is applied to all kinds of repayments, including revenge. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donors, but from other people associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so.

As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful inquiries made on that point disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, X received an investment present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously,

[a] When two are painted, that on the left of the central door on entering portrays X's father's crest, that on the right his mother's.

[b] Four men would work together on this task.

[a] Two men would work together at this, the choice of designs corresponding to those of the outside front.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

assistant blows a whistle, sounding like an eagle. When the figure has disappeared into the back-room, the heralds discuss with one another in a loud tone of voice how that was the form in which the initiate's ancestor appeared long ago. At the present time there is uncertainty concerning the proper ritual connected with the appearance of the *tutuinam* at this juncture.

A senior *ɬsaok* then calls on X to bring forward goods, "to shield our eyes from the supernatural being." These articles, part of which may have been provided by relatives of the initiate, are piled beside those brought forward by X's wife, which may also have come from the same source.

The singers strike up the second song of the initiate; again he appears and dances to it, then vanishes into the rear room.

The two assortments of goods are now distributed. First, those provided by X are presented to the singers who composed the songs for the initiates, to the carpenters who made the masks, the heralds, and announcers, and any others who have assisted; if any remain they are presented to the stranger-guests. Then the goods which are "mats for the dancer's feet" are distributed, entirely to the guests, and are said to have "become nothing" or to have "flowed away" in the transaction. Neither set of goods is returnable. These presents validate in the eyes of the guests, the right of the initiate to membership in the *ɬsaok* society.

Then a second, third, or fourth neophyte is called out, one at a time, and the same procedure is repeated.[6] In distributing the goods, efforts are made to remember those guests who received nothing at the first distribution.

Toward dawn, one of the important chiefs, it is immaterial which one, calls out:

"I want a *sikl*."

It is understood that for this part of the ceremony a foreign expert is required, and one such comes forward according to previous arrangement. He retires to the back-room and re-

[6] Though desirable, it is seldom possible for all the initiates to dance on the same night.

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

There now remains only the necessity of removing from the house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly believed to have been impregnated throughout the many weeks of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so strong that only *nuxalk* could thenceforth live in it, and no *Bacbak'walanuxsiwae* rite could be performed therein. One of the senior chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *sitki* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is beaten slowly. The *sitki* call out loudly, in unison, *hoip* four times. The whistles sound from the back-room with ever-increasing intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet: there used to be nothing of the kind. The *sitki* re-emerge, and one of them stands behind the fire with his stick which he beats on the floor and calls on the audience to shout with him, "*hi* . . ." This is done four times. It serves to purify the house from the supernatural power with which it has been saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

Goods from the general store are reserved to pay these men for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the powers with which they have been imbued, a rite that takes place the following morning in the presence of several *sitki* alone. The initiates are brought from the back-room and seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.* A foreign *sitki* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a human body; the most potent articles are ceremonial cedar-bark pads.

The *sitki* covers the young man with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end in the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

*Behind the fire according to some informants.

U-Mc Howatt E-9 (1922-1924) 1968
NBS Bellacoola NBS

with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very important, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier cleansing freed them from the *tsetsiwam*. During their period of seclusion no initiate can perform a *bactsi* ceremony of any kind. The supernatural beings of the two seasons, though closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable for a man to come into contact with the two at the same time, unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which undoubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the people of Rivers Inlet.

X pays the functioning *sisi* with new clothing. This completes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place, but no rites mark their departure.

Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance in Bella Coola as it has in other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated emphatically that they did not carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

1:McGeorgeth E-1 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacosta NEA

as easy as possible. Women seldom experience difficulty and suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed that *Sanisewan*, though invisible, is present on every occasion, the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary. The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to cause the child to become blind through a white film forming over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous interest to the community. It is proper for the fathers accompanying the attendants at once, in accordance with their skill and his generosity. A woman who has had several children often assists the daughter of a friend, then, as she gains more experience, her reputation grows and her help is more commonly sought. At the time of this study, 1922, the sum of $2.50 was considered suitable recompense for a fairly proficient midwife.

A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother would be considered harsh indeed if she failed to suckle her infant whenever it cried, since scientific hours for feeding are not known. A child is wrapped in a shawl or a blanket and carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house

When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother. Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's welfare by magical means (I, p. 700). The heavy infantile death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of love or care on the part of parents, but the attention lavished is commonly not of the kind that assists a weakly child to survive the perils of infancy.

1: McGeorge E-5 (1911-1914)948
NEA Bellecosia NEA

to whom they are going, and for what purpose. He says, for example:

"Fifty skins become nothing on the path of *Kalikaz*."

Everyone knows that this means the expenditure of that amount for the singing of a mourning song in connection with the myth in which *Kalikaz* appears. Gifts must be given for each song, and it is the desire of the donor that they be of fitting value. So, too, is the validation of professional mourners confirmed. The goods having thus been displayed, a first distribution, called "Tears" with reference to the donor's grief, is made, each guest receiving a gift of the same worth. It is not returnable, being the legalization of the ceremony he has just witnessed. This is followed by donations to the carpenters, the singers, the professional mourners, and all others who have rendered assistance; in essence, these are pay, though they are always referred to as free-will gifts made in gratitude for services rendered. Like the last, they are not returnable. Finally, any goods remaining from the store that has been brought out are given to chiefs and other influential members of the audience. Though not closely owned, the recipients know that these are really investment-presents; when they reciprocate, they mention that they are repaying a gift made at a memorial potlatch. A plentiful meal is now served, during which several chiefs make complimentary speeches, and the gathering breaks up.

In former times, when features of the ordinary potlatch were barred from a memorial potlatch, the ceremony just described was the central point of the proceedings. It was this public song-recital of the journey taken by his deceased relative which entitled the donor to a name and thus ran with prom. A few days after, in the late afternoon, the heralds called back the guests and the songs were sung and re-sung. Miniature totem-poles were not used, nor were professional mourners in evidence; the sole function of the gathering was to provide opportunity for learning the songs. They were repeated until far into the night, when a large meal was served and the guests

Indian Growth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bella Coola NE6

these various amounts making $86.4 when added to the previous $410."

It was first decided to give a present to everyone as "Eagle Down Shaken Off by the Dead Woman." Captain Schooner and his assistants thought first of the bottom house in the village, remembered who lived in it, then, after a little more discussion, agreed upon the amount each should receive. This was whispered to Nebuchadnezzar, who held up a bill and called out, for example:

"Five for an-and-an."

A number of young men had volunteered as messengers and one of them took the money to the designated recipient. After giving to all in the bottom house, they passed to the next above it, and so in succession for the whole village. Absentees were remembered and their presents received by friends or relatives. *Native* names were used because Nebuchadnezzar was unfamiliar with the little-used ceremonial designations. Contrary to ancient usage, the amounts varied; some chiefs received as much as $10, a child, $1, or so on. Each recipient accepted his gift without showing whether it was more or less than he had expected. There was not sufficient change, so that five persons were often named together and a $5 bill given to the first mentioned for sharing with the other four, a transaction always carried out honestly. Many of the Carriers were strangers, so they could not be rewarded in accordance with their rank, but $50 was given to one of their chiefs to share as he thought fit.

Not all the money was distributed in this way. Payments had to be made to those who had assisted at the funeral. Gifts were bestowed upon the women who had washed and dressed the corpse; to the men who had helped to make the coffin; to the canoe-men who had brought the body to Bella Coola; to the pall-bearers; to the grave-diggers; to the woman who had carried the fire; to the singers, especially to those who had

[illegible] The exact sums contributed by Samuel King and George Nelson could not be learned.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

composed the tunes used; to the carpenter who had prepared and used the masked figure; to the members of the band, including a payment for their services whenever Dan Nelson's child should die; to a carpenter to erect a fence around the grave; to another to cut the representation of an eagle on a stone to be erected over the grave; to the speakers at the funeral; to the speakers at the rite then taking place; to those who delivered the money; to the youth who, with pencil and paper, assisted in keeping accounts; to the cook, and to all others who had assisted in any manner. In every case the amount was announced, the bill held up, the name of the recipient stated, the reason for his reward, and the money was then taken to him by a messenger. Captain Schooner really decided how much each should receive, he being in the best position to judge what was suitable, and there being no fixed scale of charges to help him. Work paid for in advance, such as the erection of the fence, was carefully carried out.

A little money had been kept to validate the assumption of ancestral names by several children of the Schooner family. Everyone received a small amount, a child sometimes as trifling a sum as 25 cents. Captain Schooner had virtually chosen who was to receive which designation, although he received advice from all his relatives. Harry Schooner's infant was given the name, *Pätsätwas*, a reference to the manner in which the first beams of the morning sun strike the lofty summit of Mount *Nusqulst*. Reuben's son was called *alnäls*, a *Snuneʻmō* designation connected with the crash when the first *Semq̓* fall. The myths in which these names were embodied were not expounded; in fact, they had been almost forgotten, even by Captain Schooner. *Tälēs* Jenny wished to transmit one of her names to Andy Schooner's infant; this was announced in the same way as the others and validated with them by the gifts to all. Jenny had not contributed to the common stock, but some of it was used with the understanding that she would later repay. Nebuchadnezzar announced the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

called out to him, and then remembered no more. It was obvious that she had seen a ghost.

It is over diseases caused by ghosts that a shaman from the dead has power. If a person picks up and eats any morsels which he has dropped he will usually suffer, because, though he thinks the crumbs have fallen, they have really been pulled from his hands by a hungry ghost, who thus showed his desire for food. By picking up and eating the fragments, the man thwarts a dead person who retaliates by forcing some sickness into him. Ghosts may visit this land of the living and ask their relatives for food or clothing, but mortals, unable to hear the speech of the dead, are unaware of the requests of their deceased relatives, and so do not answer them. The irritated ghosts respond by causing sickness. In such cases a shaman from the dead is able to suck out the cause of the ill, and sometimes to display it as a bone, twig, or other small object and at the same time to tell the sufferer what it was that his relatives desired. Like ordinary shamans, a shaman from the dead uses his own discretion whether or not to employ the violent beating of sticks, and like his fellow-practitioner receives payment from those whom he has helped. There are no fixed charges, but a successful shaman is always wealthy.

The intimate contact of ghosts with shamans has already been mentioned in connection with the ability of the latter to learn from the ghost of a murdered person whom he believes to be his slayer.

There is one method of sacrificial curing practised by shamans from the dead alone. If the sickness refuses to yield to ordinary methods, the practitioner makes ten cedar-bark vessels, fills these with grease and places them near the fire, one between it and the door, one on the inner side, and four on either side of it, parallel to the side walls of the house. By each vessel are placed two small wooden figures, roughly carved to represent men, and decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark. After endeavouring to suck forth the disease, with or without the assistance of the frenzied beating of sticks, the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations.

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative.

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated wherever possible.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

The making of the masks

575 796 532 [431] 445 [104] is allotted to different *ɬaɬaxiat*, usually in accordance with the dancer's wishes, although a marshal normally gives out the actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows presents on each person to whom work is allotted. The evening of *naxiaɬlap* is called *ɬmɬlɬmɬm*.

The third day is *qutlm*. Those to whom mask making has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to which other *ɬaɬaxiat* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the uninitiated who will be invited during the evening. On either this day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the four days. About dusk the *ɬaɬaxiat* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a matting enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the remainder group themselves without distinction around the walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the uninitiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *ɬaɬaxiat* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *ɬaɬaxiat*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *ɬaɬaxiat* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

575 796 [84] [539]

[The Dance of Noaxnim]

any uninitiated from their path. The *ẖaẖaiiat* also call *heip* repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and birch trees are selected and the hewers start to work. Whenever a tree falls, one of the party calls out:

Xwu—.

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is contrary to *ẖaxiat* custom for more than one trip to be made for wood. Towards dusk the cutters return, each carrying a burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a gross insult to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning the *ẖaẖaxiat* with a call of:

Naxiaxilaxp ẖaẖaxiat.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of *Awi'kkwalaxis* is prepared for every *ẖaxiat* dance, but with this exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A man always shows his patron, as well as any beings intimately connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Noaknum*, many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make.

At dusk the *ẖaẖaxiat* are summoned by the heralds. X is with the marshals behind the fire and he heeds their advice as to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one of the *ẖaẖaxiat* by name and says:

"For *Noaknum*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the heralds call out:

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *xwu*—.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

shals tells a herald to call them in; they enter joyfully, though somewhat fearfully, and stand or crouch on either side of the doorway. In Kimsquit they gaze on the masks, wondering what they are. The singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while singers and *kukusiut* men sing the words and the women drone. To the uninitiated it appears most impressive and desirable, while even the prosaic white man can hardly remain indifferent. At intervals a whistle, which the uninitiated believe to be the voice of the call, sounds eerily from beneath the armpit of a reliable *kusiut*. After a short interval, X's second song is sung, and so in succession the eight. Then the singers strike up any well-remembered tune, perhaps one used last year, and the owner dances. This is repeated for eight or ten songs. At later *qothm*, every *kusiut* who has had a call during the season must dance; the ceremony tends, therefore, to become longer and longer as time goes on, although the singing of the songs of a previous year is omitted. When enough performers have danced, a shaman's song is often sung and the owner dances "to clear the house." At this point the uninitiated spectators are told to withdraw. Then a meal is served to the *tisaak* who, as members of a similar organization, are honoured guests and have been seated together in a corner, resplendent in their weasel-skin ornaments. After their departure, the *kukusiut* eat more leisurely, while one marshal after another advises them as to their conduct. Then presents of comparatively small value are distributed. The marshals would consider it unbecoming for X to provide over-lavishly. The first gifts are to the singers, the next to the makers of the masks. Though these presents are, in essence, pay, they are never thought of in that light; X is under obligations, X has cleared himself of those obligations, is the Bella Coola attitude. When all is over, X once more dances to one of his softly sung songs. Then one of the marshals calls out to open the door and the guests disperse, except the novices who sleep in X's house.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924).1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Beheading Dance]

*575 *796 532

tells them that he wants a mask made to represent his own face. The purpose for which it is destined is not mentioned, although there is no reason why the workmen, all of them *kukusiut*, should not know, as they actually do. X blackens his face a trifle, making it easier to depict, and lies down as model for the carpenters, who at once start chiselling masks. Each works independently, and usually finishes one, or even two or three, in a day. Five or six carpenters are labouring simultaneously, and when the first group of masks has been finished the marshals, and perhaps one or more influential chiefs as well, come to inspect the handicraft. The masks are laid out in a glade of the forest and the marshals make their criticisms.

"No. The nose is too long," they say of one mask, or,

"The cheeks are too full," with regard to another.

It is seldom that one of the first group of completed masks meets with their approval, but the next morning the carpenters try once more, with X again lying down as model. In the evening the marshals again examine the results. Hundreds (probably an exaggeration) are often made before one is found which satisfies every requirement, and if the carpenters fail to produce a realistic portrait, the rite cannot be carried out. The unsuccessful attempts are carefully hidden in the forest lest they should be seen by an uninitiated person. When *Owiewaltcus* performed the rite, it was near the end of September before one of the carpenters succeeded in making a satisfactory model.

When the wooden representation has been completed, there is no further doubt about holding the ceremony, and one of the marshals, acting for X, summons the singers and other influential *kukusiut* to the secret meeting place for a discussion of preliminaries.[*] At this conference X tells the carpenters what he proposes to give them as presents for the work they have done for him; the concept of "pay" is entirely lacking although it is an essential part of the transaction. The singers are told

465 431 538

[*] Several details that apply to all festivals are here included which were inadvertently omitted by informants in describing the Stomach-Cutting dance.

APPENDIX D

192*

alpin: Something long sought for on account of its especial desirability, such as well-grained wood.

alpin wax maxus: Child whose parents were long engaged and who is accordingly regarded as being well prepared for. [554]

Alpkas: Sacred initiate concealed within the back-room.

Alpwaklh: One of the first men to settle in Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

alqa: Guests at a potlatch.

Alqumukum, "The Sheltered": Name assumed by *Awanux* in the beginning of time.

alqkumtsela, "What Has Been Shaken Off": Term applied to presents distributed when a corpse has been carried through the roof. The implication is that they are dust shaken from the fingers of the deceased. [431] [764]

Alquntsis: 1—The supreme god.
2—One of the first men to settle on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
4—Tail of a *dzoxe* repository.

Alquntsmukhs: 1—Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2—Name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Imdzilt* in the beginning of time.

alsmelts'ayla: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for direct address. [601]

Alsmelts'aytl: Supernatural artisans who made mankind in the beginning of time. [376]

alt'ik: Presents given to validate the initiation of a feast. [391]

Alqumtlmut: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [463]

alumsctsumtsmay: Professional mourner.

alumsxyu(yut): Professional dancer at marriages.

alumyaxus: Professional hunter.

alunqulh: Professional warrior.

Alwhlen-c: Kimsquit fishermen living in the last century.

aly'ux: Obsolete sun.

Alxitsq: Celebrated hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

alxlx el ti qmukun: Second oldest sibling. [601]

Alxumux: Repository of a Kimsquit Cannibal whose curse are effected.

alxutswulh: Professional warrior. [463]

alxtsyuxtsmix: Professional river guard.

Amaklqaymux: Mountain near mouth of the Kimsquit River.

amkwulx: Shaman.

amkwuxsmaxus: 1—Meeting of those who have given potlatches. [753]
2—Underclothed dancers said to attack only chiefs.

amkwux: Marriage negotiators, i.e. those who, not being relatives, wish to associate themselves with the bride's family in the financial transactions of a marriage.

Amqlaxmaxus: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used by mankind.

Amskwaxsmaxus, "Chief-Creator": Name applied to the supernatural being Nusiyuxw with reference to his frequent invisibility.

Amskwaxsnis, "The Highest of All Chiefs' Sons": Name of *Awanux*'s son in the beginning of time.

Amt-dzaxs, "Falling Star-Fish": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

Amuqun, "The Root-Maker": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

amulsh: One who has received a consolation for carpentry work in preparation for a potlatch. [465]

2;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

192*

nemas, nemaxtis, nemaxtas: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Nemásdem: Supernatural being who comes with *Nusképem* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Nemásdemut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

nemil: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

nemnemskin: Toilet-bole.

nemlutcmen: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

nemnilumtmen: Exchange marriage. [583]

nempalahmen: Passenger.

Ne-mit: Place near *Nalkun.*

Nemtemásim: *Kwiat* name created by *xyuxyaxut* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

nemumi di mimen: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nemumi ixi ximen: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nemumu'ax, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nemúnemuk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemúsiyamen: Supernatural being who created repetitions in the beginning of time.

Nemúsmuk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemúyamen: House occupied by the first settlers at *Nemymuk* in the beginning of time.

nemx̣ ti'atmut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a ghost toad.

nemxhmentmen or *nemxhmentmut:* 1—The giving of hemlock bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Nusképem.* [912]
2—The cooking of offerings to ghosts by the roasting of food on a fire. [775]

Nemxmu-uk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemxmúsiyahmut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nusképem,* takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nemxnchi: Mother Nature.

nemxyu: Fishermen with inherited right to use of a salmon weir or of a place for catching chinook. [424]

nemxyumemula, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [761]

Nemxyumuk, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the four groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nemxyúnkalem: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nemxyúnkilaxpa-a: Professional name of a female dancer.

Nemxyúnmen: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nemxúnkutsut: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nemxwemuk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemxwemukik: Kimsquit human mentioned in an ancient story.

Nemxúkwemen, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the River": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [925]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NE6

Talio: Kitlope River.
Talkmaks: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time.
Lime: Animal's entrails.
Lo'o: Note of the *hoakmas*, foretelling death.
Lomut: Ceremony, in Bella Bella language.
Lukkwuma: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him.
Talmt: Rumorition Bay.
Talli, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Bald eagle.
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Lux: Novice, either *hoalut* or *shoomas*.
Lwaimuxw or Lwaimlaxv: First night of a *hoalut* dance.
Lhaklakkmut: 1—Heavy supports in *Kumugwe's* house.
2—Name obtained from them by a *Lhilo* man in the beginning of time.
Lhi'ddmut: Excision rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off.
Lhlo: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.
Lhlqumaitx: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the performer.
Lhlo: Presents distributed when a *wasal* initiate dances. They are provided by the dance "To Shield Our Eyes" from the newcomers and serve to recompense the supporters and others who have assisted in the rite.
Lnaa: Bait.
Lnaa: Hernia.
Lnaalkalx: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.
Lnaqulaa: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the dancer of a *qualaxalk* in return for being served with food in a rude manner.
Lqaalk: Small woodpecker, species undetermined.
Lqaaltlx: Whistle worn.
Lqaaltlk: Spawning sockeye salmon.
Lsalkkaa: Intangible *hoalut* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitals.
Lsalkaa: Pneumonia.
Lsaxalkalx: One of the first women to settle at *Xaaxlal* in the beginning of time.
Lsaxalkalx: One of the first men to settle at *Xaaxlal* in the beginning of time.
Lsemaalqx: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked.
Lsmkaaxw: To grasp firmly with both hands, embrace.
Lsmqaaxs: Uterus, pl.uvul.
Lsmx'ud'idmuth: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of the fallen villagers, especially during the year preceding the main rite.
Lsnaya, "What Is Good": Synonym for *shimmaxmaxmas*, the repentance of a wife from her husband.
Lsnaxalaxv: Synonym for *Nuxalkmaxalaxv*: Supernatural being who disseminates huge food from his kelson.
Lsnmaaxs: 1—Shadowy figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *wasal* and *q'ull* initiates.
2—the appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.
Lsnalkilx: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.